

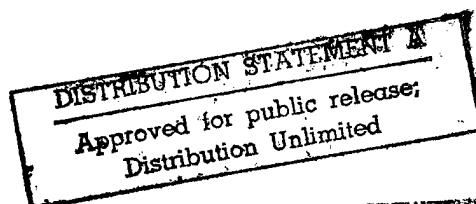
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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

***Southeast Asia***  
***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***  
***No 4, April 1992***

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**CONTENTS**

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**Socialism—Theory and Practice**

New Requirements for Ideological Work [Thai Ninh] .....	1
The Process of Forming Ho Chi Minh Thought and Its Value in Guiding the Vietnamese Revolution [Hoang Tung] .....	4
Building a Law-Governed State in Our Country [Nguyen Duy Quy] .....	8
Why Did the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Collapse [Nguyen Phu Trong; not translated] .....	11

**Research—Exchange of Opinions**

On Building an Economic Model for Our Country [Le Hoi] .....	12
A Market Mechanism Under State Control [Tran Binh Trong; Mai Ngoc Cuong] .....	14
Culture—Counter Values and a Rise in Temperature [Do Huy; not translated] .....	17

**Ideas and Experience**

The Share System and Selling Shares in a Number of State Enterprises [Vu Xuan Kieu; not translated] .....	18
The An Giang Incident [Tran Duc; not translated] .....	18
Coordinate the Traditional and the Modern in Building and Managing the Regime [Van Tao; not translated] .....	18
A Humane and Just Life, a Very Wonderful Tradition That Must Be Preserved and Exploited [Ban Dinh Giang; not translated] .....	18
Studying and Manifesting the History of the Party in All Respects [Ngo Dang Tri; not translated] .....	18

**Ideological Life**

Justice [Nguyen Tien; not translated] .....	19
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**Letters to the Editorial Staff**

Studying the Strictness of Lenin [Thanh Thanh; not translated] .....	20
Exploit the Contributions of Overseas Vietnamese Intellectuals [Bui Cong Hung] .....	20

**The World: Issues and Events**

What Is the New Political Thinking [Le Tinh; not translated] .....	22
The World After the Collapse of the Soviet Union [Vu Hien; not translated] .....	22

**From Foreign Publications**

Power Shift [Alvin Toffler; not translated] .....	23
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### New Requirements for Ideological Work

923E0011A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 3-7

[Article by Thai Ninh, member of the party Central Committee and head of the Department of Ideology and Culture of the Central Committee]

[Text] Ideological work is an important element in all the activities of the Communist Party, and it is closely related to the survival of the party and the leadership of the party with respect to society. Ideological work is a varied activity that includes many elements that affect concepts in order to form an ideological system with a correct world view and scientific methodology, raise intellectual capabilities, and ensure that practical activities achieve results. Thus, ideological work is highly scientific in nature and has a profound revolutionary character. Activities in the sphere of ideological, psychological, and emotional concepts are very complex activities involving many rich and varied relationships. Ideological work obeys the laws of knowledge and psychology and uses lively and appealing methods and forms and modern material and technical means. If things are done in a simple, rudimentary, subjective, authoritarian, or hurried manner, ideological work will not achieve results.

Concepts and ideas are a reflection of objective reality in the minds of people. This reflection is a subjective reflection through the understanding of each individual. Because this is a subjective reflection of objective reality, this reflection may be either right or wrong. From the special nature of this reflection, ideological work must emphasize a scientific nature and be firmly based on reality. This is because reality is the standard of truth. Another point to note is that objective reality always operates and develops in accord with its necessary laws. Thus, ideological work must be tied to the movement of that reality, which means that it must be related to social life. It is wrong to think that an ideological task that is done once will last forever. And it is even more wrong to think that by attending a class on Marxism-Leninism, a person can have perfect and comprehensive political awareness and that there is no need for further training. Ideological work is a continuous and constant process that never stops. It is a process of education and self-education, training and self-training.

The present age is the age of an information explosion. It is the age of speed and the age in which science and technology are developing like a storm. These special characteristics of the age have generated a need for continuous education and self-education. Many countries have implemented a periodical and revolving system of education or a system of permanent education for all types of targets. This is why everyone and all spheres need ideological work. This is important for the entire party, all the people, all jobs, and all elements of the revolution. In particular, in times of transition and in the face of important challenges that could determine the

fate of the revolution and the fatherland, ideological work holds an even more important position.

Today, the renovation movement launched by our party is entering its 5th year. This movement has achieved very important initial results, but the country is still in the midst of an economic and social crisis. Social morals are declining, and a pragmatic and apolitical way of life is spreading among a number of targets. The world situation is changing rapidly, and this is upsetting the international political situation and creating many unfavorable aspects for our country's revolution. The collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union and Communist Party of the Soviet Union are heavy losses for socialism and the communist and international workers movements. The history of international revolution has seen the failure of the 1848 revolution and of the 1871 Paris commune, but the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is a tragic defeat that will have many serious consequences and have a broad negative effect on the political and ideological mood of many people in the world. Using this opportunity, enemy forces are making an effort to destroy socialism and eliminate socialism from the world by the end of this century. Our party and people are again facing new and very difficult challenges.

The party organizations and all party members must make a great effort in order to create a powerful motive force with respect to political spirit and enable the entire party and all the people to show solidarity, manifest a concept of independence and a spirit of self-reliance, and exploit the intellectual potential in order to pass the tests, continue to promote the renovation movement, and successfully build socialism in our country.

The basic long-term advantage of ideological work is that our party has a correct renovation line, and the renovation movement has achieved results recognized not only by our people but also by our international friends. This line has created high unanimity. It has gained the sympathy of the party and people, tried to win international cooperation, and created a new opportunity for development. Democratization within the party and in society is creating new advantages for the development of theoretical thinking and contributing to raising the intellectual level of society and forging a closer relationship between the party and people.

However, we must also see the difficulties and challenges and the dangers still facing socialism in our country.

Taking advantage of the fact that the world revolution is in a state of decline, opportunists are making an effort to eliminate Marxism-Leninism. They are demanding political pluralism and multiple opposing parties, rejecting the leadership of the party, and smearing the glorious past of our party and people.

Corruption and smuggling are causing inequalities among the people and in society and reducing the people's trust in the party's leadership and the state's

management. If the party loses the people, it will certainly lose its leadership role, and the socialist system will disappear.

The forces that oppose communism and socialism are planning to eliminate socialism by the end of this century. Their victory has become evident following the serious defeats suffered by socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Along with preparations for a war of suppression and rapid intervention, they are looking for ways to implement their plot of peaceful change in all spheres, particularly in the ideological and cultural spheres. With respect to our country today, they are using 17 radio broadcasting stations (they have set up Radio Free Asia stations) and more than 200 reactionary newspapers. Each day, these encourage an overthrow, demand political pluralism and a multiparty system, and call for demonstrations and strikes against the system.

The imperialists are quickly forming a new world economic order whose nature is to maintain and expand the economic power of the multinational capitalist corporations with respect to the developing and underdeveloped countries. That is an economic order that is controlled by about 300 billionaires in the world, about 99 of whom are American. Japan has 40, and Germany has 38 (data from KINH TE VA DOI SONG, Soviet Union, No 34, 1991). The problem for us is that political independence must be tied to economic independence. Ideological work must thoroughly understand this viewpoint in order to increase awareness and maintain independence.

Vietnam is implementing a market economy. Besides its positive aspects, this economy also has very negative aspects. For example, this leads to a pragmatic, apolitical way of life in which people chase money regardless of the cost.

Clearly recognizing the advantages, difficulties, and great dangers, in the present situation, ideological work must contribute to carrying out the following:

1. We must continue to affirm the necessity and superiority of socialism, affirm that the socialist path is the only correct path and that this path ties national independence to socialism, resolutely defend Marxism-Leninism, and elevate Ho Chi Minh thought.

Socialist targets are targets that have been defined based on the objective laws of human society. They are not targets that appeared from individual feelings or subjective desires. Ideological work must focus on mobilizing and encouraging the entire party, all the people, and the entire military to follow the socialist path to the end with a steadfast revolutionary spirit.

We must affirm and adhere to the socialist path not only by mentioning its necessity and superior nature and clarifying its revolutionary and scientific nature but also by pointing out the errors of capitalism and exposing its exploitative nature. Naturally, we cannot deny the developed aspects of capitalism.

Affirming the socialist path requires the construction of a theoretical system concerning the Vietnamese revolution and the socialist revolution in Vietnam. To do this, an important task of ideological work is to continue to renovate theoretical thinking and creatively apply and develop Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought and the intellectual essence of our nation and of mankind. The Political Report of the central committee (sixth term) presented at the Seventh National Congress of Delegates stated: "We must renovate and improve the quality of ideological and theoretical work to support the requirement of raising intellectual standards in the party." [Footnote 1] [Proceedings of the Seventh National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, page 95] "We must continue to teach the cadres, party members, and people about the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas, morals, and character of Ho Chi Minh." [Footnote 2] [Ibid.] "We must organize theoretical research activities well and review practices, raise standards and improve people's ability to apply Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, contribute to formulating the positions and policies of the party, and explain the new problems posed by life. There must be a fundamental renovation of political and theoretical education." [Footnote 3] [Ibid.]

Defending Marxism-Leninism does not mean maintaining its original condition and regarding it as something immutable. Instead, this theory must constantly be developed and kept vital with the strength to fight and to improve the world based on the essential and objective laws. Defending and developing this theory do not conflict with each other but are a unified whole. It must be protected so that it can be developed, and it must be developed based on defense.

Elevating Ho Chi Minh thought will further solidify and develop the foundation of all spiritual activities. We must study and clearly point out the profound contents of Ho Chi Minh thought and, based on that, absorb the intellectual essence of the nation and of mankind, review practices, and continue to supplement and perfect the renovation line of the party.

2. Political stability must be maintained and strengthened.

This is a matter of vital significance and a basic condition for stabilizing and developing the economy and society, strengthening friendly and cooperative relations with other countries, and bringing the country out of its present socioeconomic crisis.

Stabilizing politics in Vietnam refers above all to maintaining the leadership role of the party, particularly its leadership role with respect to the state administration. If the party loses its role in leading the state administration, everything could be lost, even the administration and the party. In a number of countries, when the communist party lost the administration and became an opposition party, many tragic events immediately

occurred and many party members were killed in revenge, driven out of politics, and regarded as second- and third-class citizens. In some countries, communists have been dismissed in mass. Thus, a prerequisite for political stability is to maintain the leadership role of the party with respect to all of society and resolutely reject the scheme concerning political pluralism and multiple parties. On the other hand, we must build a state administration that is really the ownership tool of the laboring people.

Stabilizing politics cannot be separated from stabilizing and developing the economy. A developed economy is the condition for ensuring political stability. Politics must be stabilized in order to develop the economy and expand the renovation movement in an all-round and synchronized manner. Handling the relationship between political stability and economic stability and development, the party has correctly decided to use economic renovation as the center, with political renovation carried on carefully and gradually.

For this reason, stabilizing politics must be a process that is closely tied to promoting all-round renovation and to the resolute but intelligent and skillful struggle against enemy forces. All of their antisocialist plots must be defeated. This is both a condition and a basic measure for stabilizing politics. Ideological work cannot ignore this struggle.

3. The tradition of patriotism and national pride must be exploited, the spirit of independence must be heightened, and self-reliance and the concept of diligently building the country in conjunction with expanding international relations must be elevated.

This is the ideological and emotional basis for gathering the patriotic forces in society and among the Vietnamese community abroad in order to unite all the forces that can be united. This is also a great spiritual motive force for renovating the country and quickly getting the country out of poverty and backwardness and gradually moving toward socialism.

4. The policies of the seventh congress on renovating and reorganizing the party must be implemented resolutely.

This is an important task of ideological work. It can be said that never before has the party had so many party members with such weak combat will power and never before has it had so many degenerate and degraded party members as today. This situation means that ideological work must have positive measures to contribute to improving the political quality and revolutionary morals and to improving the intellectual and practical organizational capabilities of the cadres and party members. The struggle against corruption must be carried on effectively, and degenerate and degraded manifestations within the party must be blocked promptly.

In order to improve the quality and results of ideological work, above all, the forms and methods of ideological work must be renovated. Attractiveness, practicality,

and timeliness must be increased, and the cadres, party members, and people must be enabled to understand the situation in the country and the world. Making the party members and people aware of the positions and policies of the party and the laws of the state must be tied to implementing these things. Doing things in a rough, oppressive, and simple way remote from practices in ideological work must be overcome.

In today's information "explosion," particular attention must be given to improving forms and improving the quality of the contents of the activities of the news and press organizations and providing a variety of information quickly and promptly to many different targets in society. In recent years, in implementing the party's renovation line, ideological work has made much progress. Each day, thanks to radio, newspapers, and television, the people are immediately informed about events taking place in the world. In some cases, the people receive reports about international events, such as the Gulf War and the events of 19 August in the Soviet Union, just two hours after they occur. Verbal propaganda plays a particularly important role in today's very complex and multisided international situation, in which there are countless different relationships. Because of this, we must solidify and strengthen the ranks of reporters at all echelons. Ideological work must manifest an integrated effect and coordinate things with the strengths of two forces and two formulas for carrying on ideological work: mass information and oral propaganda, and public and internal disclosure.

The quality of political and ideological activities in the party and the quality of party chapter activities must be improved, doing things for form's sake must be eliminated, and the lack of democracy in the ideological and political activities of the party members must be overcome.

Research activities must be organized well, teaching the cadres, party members, and masses about Marxist-Leninist theory, Ho Chi Minh thought, and other essential scientific subjects must be carried on well, there must be a thorough understanding of the resolution of the Seventh Party Congress, and a contribution must be made to raising intellectual capabilities and creating favorable conditions for formulating the policies of the party and state.

Many types of forums must be organized in order to publicize and debate the new theoretical and practical issues. Attention must be given to dialogue, persuasion, and democratic debate before reaching conclusions on new problems.

The ideological and theoretical struggle must be promoted, and reactionary viewpoints and ideas and incorrect arguments must be opposed. There must be cadres who specialize in monitoring, studying, and analyzing things and in organizing the ideological struggle. They must do this in a timely and highly persuasive manner with a scientific basis.

The results of ideological work depend to a great extent on the leadership of the party committee echelons. Leading ideological work is closely related to leading political and organizational activities. Ideological work must given attention throughout the process of preparing party decisions and implementing those decisions in real life. Predictions must be made about the ideological changes that could occur in order to have measures and plans to deal with these in an effective manner.

Ideological work is the work of the entire party and all the mass organizations and state agencies. One of the measures in ideological work that has a positive effect on many fronts is having party members set an example. Regardless of their position, party members must exhibit revolutionary quality, improve their knowledge and abilities, maintain a close relationship with the masses, and spread propaganda among and mobilize the masses. The party chapters must assign tasks and regularly inspect the party members engaged in spreading propaganda and mobilizing the masses. Party members who are cadres in charge of mass organizations, state agencies, commercial production installations, schools, hospitals, stores, and so on must have a lofty party nature. They must coordinate things with the party committees in training the party members and cadres, solidifying the party organizations, and solidifying mass propaganda and mobilization work.

Ideological activities are scientifically-based activities to mobilize and persuade people. These are self-conscious activities. People cannot be pressured or rushed. Instead, these activities must be carried on in a resolute and painstaking manner. Democracy is the factor that will ensure results in ideological work. In order to maintain democracy in this work, information regulations must be formulated within the party. There must be two-way information between higher and lower echelons and between the party members and party organizations. Using a variety of methods, steps must be taken to guarantee the right of party members and the people to receive information through the newspapers, broadcasting stations, and mass activities. Meetings between the leading cadres at the party and state organizations and members of civic organizations and the masses are not just a form of contact with the people in order to carry on ideological work but also a responsibility that the cadres have with respect to the people.

Democracy must be manifested along with maintaining discipline and heightening responsibility in accord with the principle of collective leadership and individual responsibility.

There must be regulations to ensure real democracy in party activities and scientific research. Debate and an exchange of ideas and views must be encouraged in order to reach a profound agreement on the viewpoints, lines, and policies of the party in accord with the principle of democratic centralism.

Strengthening state control over ideological activities is an important factor for ensuring that ideological work achieves results. The resolutions of the party in the sphere of ideological work must be systematized in the form of laws, such as the Press Law, the Publishing Law, the Law on Cultural and Arts Activities, the Copyright Law, and legal documents on writers' fees, awards, prices, taxes, policies on fostering abilities, and so on.

The results of ideological work also depend on the construction of a material and technical base, on the level of state investment to renovate the radio and television broadcasting equipment, modernize the printing sector, and so on, and on the financial policies of the state with respect to the activities of the branches on the ideological front. The newspapers, publishing houses, and units that are engaged in cultural and arts activities must gradually implement economic accounting in order to settle some of their debts and make effective use of state funds. They must not pander to unwholesome tastes just in order to make a profit.

### **The Process of Forming Ho Chi Minh Thought and Its Value in Guiding the Vietnamese Revolution**

923E0011B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 8-13

[Article by Hoang Tung]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh thought has been a precious spiritual and intellectual asset of our country's revolution, of the people, and of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the long struggle to liberate the country, defend the fatherland, and build the new life in Vietnam. This thought is a major motive force for the people on the new journey to turn our country into a prosperous, happy, and civilized socialist country.

During the more than 50 years that he led our people's struggle for liberation, Ho Chi Minh did a lot of writing and teaching, but he did not leave us a systematic body of works fully explaining the revolutionary path of the party and people even though we do have a 10-volume set of his collected writings and speeches, party and state documents, and the works of other leaders and of his disciples and close comrades-in-arms. We must study the ideas of comrades and people in friendly countries on Ho Chi Minh. Adhering to the developmental processes of the revolution and focusing on the period when national liberation and the reunification of the fatherland achieved complete victory and history turned a page, we must analyze things and make generalizations.

Like the developmental processes of the Vietnamese revolution, Ho Chi Minh thought went through stages of formation to form ideas on guiding the revolution and developed into a perfect system.

The first stage lasted from when he began looking for a way to save the country until he found the scientific thought of Marxism, through Lenin and the October

Revolution. The second stage included determining the path of national and social liberation, leading the revolution, and winning victory in the August Revolution. The third stage included building a democratic people's state, carrying on a resistance to save the country, and building a new society in the north.

Ho Chi Minh was born during the period that France invaded our country and turned it into a colony. The struggles led by Phan Dinh Phung and Hoang Hoa Tham aimed at regaining the independence of the fatherland were defeated. Phan Boi Chau launched an unsuccessful movement aimed at obtaining the help of Japan, an Asian power that had just appeared and defeated a European power. The movement by Phan Chu Trinh to raise the people's intellectual standards and oppose the corruption of the court had little hope. The country's situation and the lives of the people were really tragic. A new gust of wind appeared from China, and the human rights ideas of European democratic revolutionaries reached our country through the works of Khang Huu Vi and Luong Khai Sieu, but their influence was limited to the circle of Confucian scholars.

When he was 15 years old, Nguyen Tat Thanh participated in the movement of Phan Boi Chau, carrying on liaison activities. When he was 17, he was attending the Quoc Hoc School in Hue, but because he participated in a demonstration against taxes, he had to quit school. After teaching for a period at the Duc Thanh School, a free school founded by patriots in Phan Thiet, and seeing that the various paths tried had all failed to achieve results, he decided that he had to go abroad in order to find the truth. All that he took with him was the patriotism that had been instilled in him at home, in school, and in his locality, the place that had given birth to Phan Dinh Phung, Phan Boi Chau, and his beloved father, Nguyen Sinh Sac. His patriotism sprang from a love for his countrymen. He was pained by the wretched condition of the people and by the fact that the precious cultural and moral essence of the nation was being trampled on. He knew this but did not fully understand democracy and felt that he had to go to Europe to understand. France, the birthplace of the invaders, was also a place of brilliant culture and the home of famous democratic revolutionaries. He boarded a freighter and visited many countries, spending a long time in Paris, France. He participated enthusiastically in political activities beginning in 1917 in the workers' and socialist movements. In 1919, the name Nguyen Ai Quoc appeared for the first time. He quickly gained the attention of people in political circles and Vietnamese emigrants through the petition that he sent to the Versailles conference demanding democratic self-rule for Vietnam. He became acquainted with well-known socialists in France and joined the French Socialist Party. The success of the October Revolution had a powerful effect on the workers' and socialist movements there. Participating in the debate on the position of the socialist party, Nguyen leaned toward the revolutionary position of Lenin after reading a number of works of the leader of

revolutionary Russia. He attended the congress to establish the French Communist Party and announced that he was loyal to the Communist Party. The program of this party discussed not only the tasks in liberating the laborers in the mother country but also the tasks in liberating the colonized nations. The path that he found was that of coordinating the two tasks of liberating the fatherland and freeing the people, liberating the nation and freeing mankind. He became a warrior of the national liberation movement, the movement to liberate the workers, and the movement to liberate mankind. His great energy was reserved for liberating his own nation and the other colonies. He wrote "In Condemnation of Colonialism" and published the newspaper LE PARIA [THE OUTCAST].

Paris, the place that had spawned many revolutions in the 18th and 19th centuries and the center of the century of the Enlightenment, was a great school for Nguyen Ai Quoc. There, he matured politically and absorbed the cultural essence of France and the world.

Around the middle of 1923, Nguyen left France for the country of the October Revolution. He went there in order to gain a fuller understanding of the ideas that had led to the uprising that had shaken the entire world and the achievements scored by revolutionary Russia. He then wanted to return home and transform his ideals into reality, ready to face any challenge. He arrived in Moscow just after Lenin died. He saw the sacred feelings that the people in the union had for their leader. Lenin had died, but his ideas, which were the motive force for the development of society, and the achievements of the New Economic Policy all exerted a great attraction on Nguyen.

Arriving in Canton, China, in 1925, Nguyen carried on activities in conjunction with the Communist International mission on the side of the revolutionary government of the Koumintang during the period that the Koumintang and the Communist Party were allied with each other. Nguyen taught at the Hoang Po School and contributed to the founding of the Union of Oppressed Asian Peoples. He studied the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen. An important mission of his was that he began to play a role in the revolutionary movement in the country, drafted documents defining the path to liberate the fatherland, organized revolutionary mass organizations, and trained the first group of cadres for the Vietnamese revolution. He contacted a group of patriotic youths who had come here in response to the appeal of Phan Boi Chau and formed an organization called the Tam Tan Xa (Union of Hearts). One of the leaders of this organization was Pham Hong Thai, who in 1924 tried but failed to assassinate Merlin, the governor general of Indochina, and who heroically sacrificed his life at Sa Dien, thereby arousing the patriotic spirit of our people after a period of depression following a series of defeats. The Tam Tan Xa quickly became the force for the establishment of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association. Ten classes of students with more than 200 Vietnamese youths studied here in turn. Most of these

were people who had participated in the patriotic activities demanding the release of Phan Boi Chau and mourning the death of Phan Chu Trinh. The organ of speech of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association was THANH NIEN, and the lectures given at the classes mentioned above were published in a book entitled "*Duong Kach Menh (Revolutionary Road)*, which was widely disseminated in the country along with the rise of a system of revolutionary youth organizations in all three zones and which gave rise to a vigorous patriotic movement in both the cities and rural areas. Along with studying "*Revolutionary Road*," students also listened to lectures on revolutionary movements, the organization of revolutionary mass organizations and the activities of those organizations, and the morals of revolutionaries. After two years of activities, Nguyen had outlined a path for our nation's liberation, established revolutionary organizations, and trained cadres. For the first time, our patriotic movement had a clear program and broad organizations composed of various strata of people and revolutionary activists with a new style.

What was unfortunate for Nguyen was that when he arrived in the Soviet Union, Lenin had already died, and not long after he arrived in China, the founder of the Three People's Principles and the head of the Koumintang and leader of a democratic country, Sun Yat-sen, died, too, with the result that the alliance between the Koumintang and the communists soon split apart. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek seized power, dissolved the alliance with the Communist Party, and began oppressing the revolutionaries. Nguyen, along with the Borodin mission, had to leave Canton.

At that time in the Soviet Union, Stalin took over the work of Lenin and became the leader of the Communist Party and head of the Council of People's Commissars. In a speech to a class of graduate officers, he expounded on the ideological system of Lenin and for the first time gave a definition of Leninism. That speech was actually Stalinism. He explained Lenin's theoretical system based on his own viewpoints. That speech became the sacred text of Russian Communists and many other parties. The policies that Lenin had proposed, particularly the New Economic Policy and the policy of "debureaucratizing" the state apparatus, were replaced or abandoned. Industrialization and agricultural cooperativization were promoted, commerce was abolished, the state apparatus was strengthened, and all power was concentrated at the center. Many of Lenin's close collaborators had to leave political life, because they were viewed as no longer being in tune with the line of the new leadership committee.

In 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International was convened. It adopted a revolutionary program (strategy) and elected a new leadership committee.

That was the period when the first group of Vietnamese, including intellectuals and workers, went to study in the Soviet Union. They studied Stalinism, the lessons in the book "*The Reasons for Leninism*," and the program of

the bourgeois democratic revolution (at that time, it was called people's rights). After completing their studies, this group of comrades returned home and prepared the program of our Communist Party. The ideas of the program of the bourgeois democratic revolution were disseminated in the revolutionary movement that was then on the rise because of the vigorous activities being carried on in the country by the Revolutionary Youth Association prior to the return of Tran Phu's group. This led to the division of this revolutionary organization into three communist organizations whose programs were basically the same. The members of these three organizations all stressed the worker-peasant alliance and the class struggle, and they criticized the policy of national solidarity as a petty-bourgeois political tendency and as nationalism.

After working for a number of years in Europe, Nguyen went to Siam (Thailand) and built a revolutionary base among the overseas Vietnamese. Informed of the birth of the three communist organizations in the country and the discord between them, Nguyen went to Hong Kong and invited those three organizations to send representatives to a meeting. Presiding at the conference on 3 February 1930, Nguyen put forth an "Outline Program, Outline Strategy, and Outline Statutes" and proposed to unite the three organizations into one party under the name Communist Party of Vietnam. The outline Program stated that the targets of the Vietnamese revolution were national independence, civil rights, and the people's livelihood, manifesting the path that Nguyen had explained in the classes in Canton. Those at the 3 February conference approved unifying the organizations and the name of the party, but they did not elect official leaders. They just appointed several provisional leaders headed by one of the people who had convened the meeting. Tran Phu filled that vacancy. In the sprint of 1930, Tran Phu and a number of other comrades drafted a program. At the plenum of the Central Committee held in Saigon in October 1930, Tran Phu presented the Thesis for the People's Democratic Bourgeois Revolution. This plenum lasted 10 days. Secret agents found out about it and all of those at the meeting were arrested. Shortly after that, Tran Phu died in prison. But many people knew the main idea of the Thesis, and it was propagated widely among the thousands of comrades then in prison. The Overseas Committee (1932-1934) based in Macau carried out the tasks of the Central Committee and acted in accord with the spirit of Tran Phu's program. The first congress, which was held in 1935, adopted that program, passed resolutions on many specific policies and tasks, and elected a new leadership committee, with Ha Huy Tap elected general secretary.

Monitoring the activities of our party, leaders of the Communist International said that Nguyen had reformist nationalist tendencies, that he slighted the class struggle and the worker-peasant alliance, that things were not in accord with the guiding ideas of that time, and that it had been decided to change the name of our party to the Indochinese Communist Party.



In 1936, many of the people who had been in prison were released. They participated in determining the new policies in the face of the changed situation. Trying to carry on activities legally and expand the influence of the revolution in conditions in which the people's front held power in France, the party Central Committee decided to establish the Indochinese Democratic Front.

In 1935, the Communist International convened its seventh congress and advocated establishing the World Anti-Fascist Front with the aim of gathering all peaceful and democratic forces to oppose the threat of war and make preparations to deal with a fascist war. Responding to the resolutions passed at this congress, our party promoted a democratic movement to oppose the Japanese invasion of China and the threat of war posed by Japan in Asia, to oppose the Japanese plot to annex our country, and to oppose the pro-Japanese clique. In 1938, the party decided to appoint Nguyen Van Cu general secretary in place of Ha Huy Tap.

War broke out in Europe, France was invaded by fascist Germany, and the Japanese Army invaded Indochina. The French colonial authorities harshly suppressed the communists and democrats. The uprising in Cochinchina was defeated, there was a violent reign of terror, and many of the leading cadres in the party committee echelons were arrested. Shortly after that, following the conference in Hong Kong at which our party was established, Nguyen Ai Quoc was arrested by secret agents. In 1933, he was released from prison with the help of an English lawyer, and in 1934, Nguyen returned to the Soviet Union. In 1938, using the liaison routes of the Chinese Communist Party, he visited the provinces along the Vietnamese-Chinese border in order to make preparations for returning home. At the beginning of 1941, he went to Cao Bang and convened the eighth plenum of the Central Committee. At that time, many members of the Central Committee headed by Nguyen Van Cu were arrested, and many comrades were sentenced to death. They were replaced by a new leadership committee headed by Truong Chinh. The Pac Bo conference marked a major turning point in our country's revolution. At this conference, Nguyen Ai Quoc presented the National Salvation Program of the party and proposed establishing the Vietnam Independence League to implement the policy of national solidarity without drawing a distinction between rich and poor or between political views on condition that they agreed with the work of national salvation and national liberation. The worker-peasant alliance was the foundation of the unified national front. The worker-peasant alliance and the union of all patriotic and democratic forces were the two elements of the strategy of the Vietnamese revolution. It was not the case that one element was the strategy while the other was just a tactic. A land revolution was carried on, a policy of reducing rents, interest rates, and taxes was implemented, and a policy of having workers work eight hours a day and increasing wages was implemented. The program also mentioned policies concerning the classes, ethnic minorities, and equality

between men and women. The national salvation program vividly manifested the idea of coordinating class liberation with national liberation, with national liberation being foremost, as Nguyen had put forth in "Revolutionary Road" and the "Outline Program." Thanks to reorienting the strategy at this plenum of the Central Committee and the positive activities of our party, a national salvation movement quickly arose. That was followed by an uprising and then a general uprising to establish the revolutionary regime of our people throughout the country in 1945.

The path of Vietnamese national liberation as advocated by Ho Chi Minh [Footnote 1] [He used the name Ho Chi Minh for the first time in 1942 after he left Cao Bang for Quang Tay and was arrested by Koumintang authorities], which gathered together the broad patriotic and democratic forces, was established and confirmed by revolutionary realities. This was followed by the path to oppose aggression, defend the independence and freedom of our fatherland and people, and win victory in the resistances against France and then the United States.

In conjunction with the guidance work of the party, Ho Chi Minh wrote and spoke about the construction of a revolutionary state and revolutionary Armed Forces, a people's war to liberate the nation and defend the fatherland, a system of laws, the ideological foundation of the state regime, military strategy, the building of an economy, culture, education, science, arts and letters, a new way of life, and revolutionary morals, party building, the front and the mass organizations, foreign policy, and international solidarity. The idea of "of the people, by the people, and for the people" was thoroughly understood in building the superstructure of our state's system and regulations. The slogan of our revolution and state was "independence, freedom, and happiness." The principle guiding our thinking and actions was "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." Ho's unified ideas, which were based on a spirit of independence and self-government, started from the interests of the nation and people in conjunction with the legitimate interests of the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. The people were the source of every victory and the subject of the revolution, the military, the public security forces, the economy, and culture. They were the support target of the party and state. The party, state, and various echelon cadres were the servants of the people and not revolutionary mandarins. The state apparatus had to be pure. It had to remain close to the people, oppose bureaucratism, corruption, and waste and implement a policy of saving the human and material power of the people.

To study Ho Chi Minh thought on the above spheres, specialists and the entire party held theoretical and scientific seminars.

As in the past, with respect to the revolutionary lines and policies of our country, because of outside effects, the idea of independence and self-government declined, and

mistakes were made. In 1951, the party convened its second congress and adopted a revolutionary program during the period of resistance against France. This program affirmed that the revolution that we were carrying on was a people's national democratic revolution and that the state was a people's democratic state, with its social foundation being the united national front and with its core being the worker-peasant alliance. Every strength was concentrated on winning victory in the resistance. After concluding the stage of revolution to liberate the nation, we would switch to the stage of democratic revolution, carry on a land revolution, and make other democratic reforms. After completing the historical tasks of the national and people's democratic revolutions, our country would gradually carry out a socialist revolution. Outside influences upset this plan. Land reform was carried on immediately and we switched to implementing socialism in the north. Private industry and commerce were eliminated, and agricultural cooperativization was carried on. Once again, emphasis was placed on the class struggle and the worker-peasant alliance, and not enough attention was given to solidifying and strengthening the united democratic front. Once again, the correct line of Ho Chi Minh was considered to be a right-wing deviation, confusing us with the enemy and having a vague class position. The crisis in the international communist movement and the open debate on the different lines of the revolution had negative effects on the activities of our party.

Our nation had to prepare to resist a new war of aggression by the Americans. President Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan (who was then general secretary, Truong Chinh, and the other leaders of the party and state had to take the initiative in solving the new problems in liberating the south, reunifying the fatherland, and defeating the American imperialists. Once again, Ho Chi Minh thought was strongly affirmed: Raise the banner of national salvation, great solidarity, national accord, solidarity with all revolutionary, progressive, and peace- and freedom-loving forces in the world, particularly the Soviet Union, China, and the other socialist countries, support Vietnam, and defeat the neocolonialist war being waged by America. That was the basic spirit of the resolution of the 15th plenum of the Central Committee held in 1959 and the 3d party congress held in 1960. The resistance against America made broad use of the past revolutionary methods and forms of our nation and people and forged the integrated revolutionary strength of the people in the war to liberate the fatherland.

Ho Chi Minh thought is a revolutionary path and the guiding ideological system of the Vietnamese nation and people. The world view of this ideological system is Marxism-Leninism in conjunction with the traditional political and cultural ideas of Vietnam. The revolutions and social systems that have appeared in history have all shown the marks of the nation and the effects of the age. No phenomenon is sealed or dissolved. Classes are a striking phenomenon in class societies, but this is still a historical phenomenon; they are not common in the

long-term history of man. The nation is a long-term phenomenon that has endured for thousands of years. A harmonious world has been the dream of people since ancient times, but this is still a remote prospect. National liberation and national independence are the important targets of Marxism. The liberation of man and society is always closely related to national liberation. This historical struggle must be continued over the long term. This struggle is now very fierce, because the single-polar or multipolar brute forces are plotting to impose their order on all nations. A national spirit and patriotism have been, are, and will continue to be motive forces for development, particularly for nations that have thrown off the yoke of colonial oppression and for people who are the masters of their country and society. The patriotism and national spirit of Ho Chi Minh started from and was indistinguishable from a spirit of cherishing the people. It started from the liberation of the people and the happiness of the people.

Ho Chi Minh thought was the intelligence and cultural essence of the Vietnamese nation in the new age to liberate the fatherland and people, build a prosperous country, and bring freedom and happiness to the people. Ho Chi Minh thought is the will power of Vietnam: a slave nation that united, relied on its own strength to liberate itself, and defeated every aggressive and oppressive force. A popular and humanitarian nature are clearly manifested in Ho Chi Minh thought. The goal of the revolution is humanity, and the activities of the revolution must be humane. Ho Chi Minh was a theorist and activist who set a great example concerning revolutionary behavior and morals. He did not like to talk about abstract theory but always started from actual life. He solved the problems posed by life and spoke in a traditional, orderly, and coherent manner so that the people could understand. Throughout his life, he worked tirelessly. He was very disciplined and led a simple life. He did not reserve a grand position for himself or abuse his power. He respected others. He respected the people and the elderly, loved the young, respected women, was friendly to everyone, and tried to be close to everyone. He often said that his life-long dream was to see an independent fatherland in which the people were free and had food and clothing and schools to attend and in which there was solidarity in building a wonderful life.

Ho Chi Minh thought is pure and noble revolutionary thought.

Ho Chi Minh was a noble and pure revolutionary.

### **Building a Law-Governed State in Our Country**

923E0011C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 14-17

[Article by Nguyen Duy Quy, professor and head of the Vietnam Institute of Social Science]

[Text] Marxist-Leninist theory on the state affirms that the state and the laws are two social-historical phenomena that are closely related to each other. Every state

promulgates laws in order to govern and manage social relationships. However, not every country is recognized as a law-governed state. Ideas about a law-governed state have been appearing since the period of slavery before Christ. However, under a slave system and, in particular, a feudal system, when state power belonged to just one person (the slave owner, the king, or the queen), there can be no talk about the existence of a law-governed state. A law-governed state became a political-legal and philosophical theory in Western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. This was a progressive theory that reflected the will power of the rising bourgeois class, which confirmed itself, together with the other strata of laboring people, in opposing the system of monarchy, dogmatism, and authoritarianism of the feudal kings. Because of this, along with democracy, building a law-governed state became the target of the American and Western European bourgeois revolutions in the 18th Century.

Marx, Engels, and Lenin gave high marks to the humanitarian values of the theory of a law-governed state that the bourgeois revolutions contributed to mankind. At the same time, they also criticized the bourgeois law-governed states in the 19th Century and beginning of the 20th Century, because this was a type of state in which one group of people exploited and oppressed the proletariat and laboring people.

On the theoretical front, there are many different views on a law-governed state. According to the philosopher I. Kant (1724-1804), who is regarded as one of the founders of this theory, a law-governed state (which is also called a lawful state) is a contractual state formed by the people with legal concepts on freedom and equality. For example, unless a person violates the law, he is totally free to develop in accord with his intellectual abilities. No one has the right to force other people to do something that violates public law. Each person and society in general must obey the laws. At the same time, they have the right and the capabilities to compel the state and those who hold positions to enforce the laws. In response to a question on how to ensure that the mutual responsibilities between citizens and the state are fulfilled, Kant said that the best system to date was a republic, but even that system could not prevent dogmatism and authoritarianism unless there was a division of state powers into legislative, administrative, and judicial powers. [Footnote 1] [See E.M. Treknilovsky, "The Law-Governed State: Historical Experiences," THE SOVIET STATE AND LAW, April 1989, page 48] Only if these three powers are unified will the state be able to ensure the rights of its citizens.

At a seminar on a law-governed state held in Penang in September 1991 by countries using the French language, from different angles, scientists from more than 40 countries raised the following system of views: A law-governed state is a state in which the rights and obligations of everyone and of each person are recognized and protected by the laws. A law-governed state is commonly defined as a system in which the state and all individuals

must obey the laws. The enforcement of the regulations, standards, and laws is ensured by a system of independent courts. A law-governed state is obligated to respect the highest value, which is man. The state must obey the laws and ensure that citizens have the capabilities and conditions to oppose arbitrary actions by the state. A mechanism must be created to test the legality and constitutionality of the laws and actions of the administrative apparatus. The special characteristic of a law-governed state is that the state must assure citizens that demands outside or above the things stipulated in the constitution and laws will not be imposed on people. In a law-governed state, the constitution holds the highest position in the legal system, but the constitution must be formulated based on guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Thus, even though views and ways of looking at things may differ and even conflict with each other, in general, the standards or basic characteristics of a law-governed state can be summarized as follows:

First, the supremacy of the law, particularly of the constitution, the basic law with the highest judicial value, must be recognized and respected. The constitution, laws, and documents under the law must be enforced strictly. Everyone is equal before the law, and every violation of the law must be prosecuted.

Second, state powers must be divided based on the three basic functions, that is, legislative, administrative, and judicial. These three functions must be entrusted to three different power organizations so that they can control each other in implementing their powers and prevent organizations from acting in an arbitrary manner and abusing their powers. Montesquieu (1689-1755), the founder of the theory of "division of powers," said that "everyone with power has a tendency to abuse those powers." [Footnote 2] [See Andre Demichel, Francine Demichel, and Marcel Piquemal: "Institutions et Pouvoir en France," Paris, Editions Sociales, 1975, Russian-language translation, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, page 30] Based on independence, there must be a mechanism to coordinate and monitor things among the three forms of state power. In this, above all else are legislative and judicial powers. The basis for the existence of the state organizations must be the laws, and the mutual relationship between the state power organizations must be stipulated by the law.

Third, man must be the target and the highest value. Because of this, the state must guarantee the people their basic rights and freedoms and protect them in cases in which these basic rights and freedoms are violated, including cases in which they are violated by state organizations and people in positions of power. A society in which the people and state both have responsibilities and in which the people have responsibilities to the state and the state has responsibilities to the people must be created. In society, there must be a court system to satisfy the people's needs in taking legal action.

Fourth, in international relations, a law-governed state must fully implement its management commitments and obligations starting from the international agreements that the state has signed or accepted. The priority value of those commitments and obligations with respect to domestic laws must be recognized.

The original class nature of the state must be rejected. With the basic characteristics mentioned above, a law-governed state must naturally be a democratic state, a state of the people, by the people, and for the people. In this, all power must really belong to the people. The state must be built and organized in a rational and scientific way in order to implement this principle effectively. This is why the history of man has refused to recognize slave states, monarchies, and dictatorial, fascist, racist, and genocidal political systems as law-governed states. Also, a law-governed state is just the opposite of nihilism.

In Vietnam prior to 1945, under feudalism and colonialism, there was no law-governed state. Ideas on a constitutional state, a way of applying the idea of a law-governed state in Vietnam, were mentioned for the first time by President Ho Chi Minh in 1919. [Footnote 3] [See Ho Chi Minh, "The Vietnamese State and Laws," Phap Ly Publishing House, 1990, pages 11-13] After the August Revolution succeeded and a democratic republic was established, Ho Chi Minh skillfully included these ideas in the constitution of 1946, the first constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. But the long war and our economic, social, and cultural base did not allow us to thoroughly implement the ideas on a law-governed state.

The renovation movement implemented by the sixth party congress and continued by the seventh congress requires that we reform the state apparatus. The proceedings of the seventh congress state that "We must continue to reform the state apparatus based on the guideline: the state is really of the people, by the people, and for the people. The state controls society through the laws under the leadership of the party, and it is organized and operates in accord with the principle of democratic centralism. It unifies powers but with a clear-cut division of labor and decentralization." [Footnote 4] [Proceedings of the Seventh National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, page 91] At the 9th Session of the Eighth Term of the National Assembly, General Secretary Do Muoi and Council of Ministers Chairman Vo Van Kiet officially used the category "build a law-governed state."

As for building a law-governed state in Vietnam during the transition to socialism, in my view, very detailed studies must be done. In particular, much attention must be given to Vietnamese economic, social, and cultural realities and to coordinating the traditional and the modern. At the same time, it will take a certain amount of time to formulate correct policies. However, in general, the following basic principles must be thoroughly understood:

1. All state power belongs to the people. The people wield state power both directly and indirectly. At the same time, the people have the ultimate right to monitor the state organizations in using the powers delegated to them by the people. This right to monitor things is implemented through legal mechanisms and tools.

2. The basic social relationships must be regulated by the laws and not by doctrines. The laws hold a position like general rules of conduct. They are compulsory and set safe legal passages for the general relationships of all of society. In this sense, the state does not "promulgate" laws but simply formalizes social rules and actions. State ordinances must be the special tools for enforcing the laws.

Here, it must be added that the laws must be rational and fair. They must correctly reflect the objective laws and be in accord with the interest relationships. They cannot be subjective, voluntaristic, biased, or local in nature. The laws must be formulated with high "quality" and reflect the widespread needs of society in each stage.

3. The laws must hold a guiding position throughout society and in the activities and behavior of the subjects of social relationships.

The system of legal standards must conform to the unified nature of the laws, and in this, supremacy belongs to the laws, above all, the constitution. The laws cannot be contrary to the constitution. Similarly, the documents under the law must be in accord with the law. The documents of the sectors and localities must be in accord with the documents of higher echelons and of the central echelon.

4. Although they may promulgate laws, state officials, state organizations, and people in positions of power, just like political, social, and economic organizations and ordinary citizens, must obey the laws. No organization or individual is above or outside the law. Everyone is equal before the law. With this principle, our society will gradually advance to implementing the motto: "citizens can do anything not prohibited by the law." Of course, people must act within the framework of socialist morals and respect the social interests of others. On one hand, this opposes misuse of power and authoritarianism, and on the other hand, it opposes anarchic actions.

5. Steps must be taken to respect and guarantee in reality the basic rights and freedoms, legitimate interests, reputation, and human dignity of people. These must be recognized in the constitution and laws and be protected by the laws in cases of violations though the legal tools of the state.

6. The state apparatus must be organized based on the principle that the power of the people is supreme and unified and that there is no division of power but only a clear-cut division of labor between the legislative, administrative, and judicial organizations. These organizations must implement their powers based on their individual functions with a monitoring mechanism

having the capabilities to limit and control abuses of power and authoritarianism within the state apparatus. The "authorization" mechanism from one type of power to another must be limited as much as possible and kept strictly within the framework of the law.

This is the important principle that will ensure the effectiveness of the law-governed state and of the laws, guarantee true democracy, and ensure that democracy goes hand in hand with discipline and the law.

7. The system of mutual responsibilities between the state and citizens (individuals) is really between the side that represents state power and the side that is both the subject and object of state power. Here, the state clearly defines (for the organizations and the people holding positions) the legal responsibilities regarding their actions. Citizens have the right and the ability to compel the state organizations and people in positions to enforce the laws and fulfill their responsibilities to them.

8. The independence of the judicial organizations, that is, the judges, must be maintained. They must adhere only to the law when rendering a verdict and are not dependent on individuals, organizations, or political or social organizations. Judicial activities must be democratic, and the procedures must be fair and convenient to people.

The administration of justice must become the most important tool of the people in social life, because this is where every person has the right of free association in cases in which his rights or interests have been violated. This is where every person can easily receive the support and protection of the law. It is the place where right and wrong based on the law must be decided promptly and fairly.

9. The activities of the state organizations and people who hold positions must be made public (except in cases in which this must be limited for reasons of national security, public order, or social morals). The right to provide and receive information must be implemented widespreadly.

Thoroughly understanding and fully implementing the nine principles discussed above will implement President Ho's ideas on a law-governed state. Building a law-governed state in Vietnam can be carried out only if everything from understanding things to organizing the state apparatus and cadres is renovated. Otherwise, the problem of a law-governed state will remain just a wonderful dream. The reality of past years has shown that even though we have made a great effort, order and discipline have not improved and have even grown worse in a number of spheres.

Thus, this time, revising the constitution, reforming the state apparatus, and building a law-governed state signifies a new step forward in renovating the political system in our country. In this, the leadership role of the Communist Party of Vietnam must always be carried out correctly. It must be stressed that there is no conflict between elevating the leadership role of the party and strengthening the effect of the state. Unity between strengthening the leadership of the party and increasing the strength of the state is an important target in renovating the country.

#### **Why Did the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Collapse**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 4, Apr 92 pp 18-22

[Article by Nguyen Phu Trong; not translated]

### On Building an Economic Model for Our Country

923E0011D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 23-25

[Le Hoi, Vietnam Institutes of Science]

[Text] The classic, outmoded socialist economic model uses a centralized control mechanism in the economic system. This model developed well and was suitable during the machine revolution stage in the stage of the national defense war and resistance for national salvation. Economic growth during that period relied mainly on "labor strength" and machine strength. The "surplus value" of the economic system at that time was determined primarily by "labor strength." The targets of each economic unit were in accord with and unified with the target of the entire system: "All to defend the fatherland; all for the country." The principle of internal equilibrium also enabled the system to focus on achieving the maximum for the targets of the entire system.

Today, there is an information revolution, and the principle of variety of information is manifesting its strength and making it impossible to implement centralized control (centralized economic planning). At the same time, the principle of internal equilibrium (each subsystem and subunit is seeking a way to enable its own targets to achieve the maximum) is still exerting an effect on the state economic units.

How can the state economic units easily process the huge amount of information that is being generated suddenly, and that does not include the erroneous information from the central planning elements? In a situation in which the information cannot be processed, in order to hit their targets, the state economic units have to steal state assets. Once the socioeconomic system enters a crisis and can't receive a new and positive source of information that is organized and orderly and that has a scientific basis, the principle of maximum entropy will throw the entire system into disorder, and it will collapse.

To avoid this terrible disaster, we must do the following:

We must look for new and positive currents of information in order to put them into the system. This is a modern socialist economic model that has been renovated. This is a model of a system of economic intelligence and economic information. This model must, of course, be the result of exploiting the intelligence of all the people (particularly the intellectuals), gathering and reviewing the profound results of the various sciences (natural and social) and technologies (particularly information theory) and not just the theories in the social sciences. The reason for this is that if we want to verify the correctness or point out the shortcomings of a particular theory that once held sway (particularly when that theory is in crisis), we must use necessary means outside that theory.

We must have an organization that has sufficient strength to control things, that cannot be thrown into turmoil, and that has the capabilities to discover and accept the new and positive information currents. The Communist Party of Vietnam showed that it is such an organization when it advocated and successfully led an all-round renovation movement in our country.

We must renovate the socioeconomic system as if renovating a multicellular body. We must renovate the cell groups of the body constantly, simultaneously, and consecutively in order to maintain life.

The classic capitalist model is contrary to the classic model of socialism, but it still depends primarily on labor strength, particularly mechanized labor strength, in order to develop. The modern economic model (an information and intellectual economy) of capitalism or socialism starts from the view that the growth of the economy and the surplus value of the economic system is decided primarily by the amount of useful and positive information put into the economic system and by the rate of use and spread of that information. [Footnote 1] [The market is the system that regulates the equilibrium and amounts of information contained in a class of commodities. But relying on the market alone is not enough, because that must be supplemented by macrocosmic economic programs.]

In the modern economic models, there are very important variables, parameters, and functions that use the values in the total. Depending on their values, there will be either a modern capitalist economic model or a modern socialist economic model (that has been renovated). Both of these models use a market mechanism that is regulated by the state. The only difference between them is: Whom does the state represent? The interests of a group of very wealthy families or the interests of all the people, the great majority of whom are laboring people?

In the modern economic model (capitalist or socialist), the rate of economic growth can be expressed as follows:

$T = T(x, y, z, u)$  where:

"x" is the rate of renovation of scientific and technical information put into the economy;

"y" is the degree of stability of commodity prices and currency circulation;

"z" is the income gap between the few extremely wealthy people and the masses of poor people;

"u" is the parameter of state economic control (foreign economic policies, financial and currency policies, income policies, and laws).

In the function  $T$ , a change in "x" reflects the quality of information, and a change in "y" and "z" reflects the rate of circulation of information. The problem of growth concerns mainly information and speed.

For  $T$  to reach its maximum, a capitalist or socialist state must control " $u$ " in such a way so as to ensure that " $x$ " and " $y$ " increase while keeping " $z$ " from being either too small or too large (using contrary relationship methods in cybernetics). If those who are controlling " $u$ " lack the necessary scientific information, " $x$ " and " $y$ " will be too small and " $z$ " will be either too small or too large. In that case, the new and positive information will not be able to enter or will not circulate in the economic system. The result will be that maximum entropy will manifest an effect and destroy the system.

In the old socialist economic model, people did not attach proper importance to the position and role of the intellectuals, particularly scientists and technicians (the center for discovering and processing macrocosmic information), and they did not exploit the independence of the production units and people directly engaged in production in order to promptly discover and process the macrocosmic information that appeared suddenly from the realities of production in their locality. As a result, " $x$ " (the rate of putting new information into the system) was too small. Furthermore, in the old model, people tended to want " $z$ " (the distribution gap) to be very small. That is, they didn't want to encourage creative labor but wanted to have equality in poverty.

In modern capitalism, people are using the modern economic model and including the achievements of modern science—information theory, cybernetics, and so on—in the market mechanism. In general, this is a good model and an intellectual achievement of man. Here, the only difference between capitalism and socialism has to do with who uses those intellectual achievements. Who controls the parameter " $u$ " in the function  $T(x,y,z,u)$ ?

In modern capitalism, the one who controls " $u$ " is the modern capitalist state. This is the state of a very wealthy but clever capitalist group that does not show its greed as openly as did capitalists in the classical capitalist economy. This state is intentionally controlling " $u$ " in such a way that  $T$  will reach a maximum value, but with most of the profits going to the ruling capitalist group and to their subsystems, while still maintaining equilibrium in the entire system (the principle of internal equilibrium). Naturally, this equilibrium does not coincide with the optimum equilibrium of the entire system. This is because the capitalist state must above all guarantee the right of private ownership. That state does not regard accounting and statistical information, such as information on the predicted amount of investment by each corporation, as a resource of all of society. Thus, it is difficult for the various capitalist corporations to coordinate investments, which means that they lack input information, with the result that the value of " $y$ " is low. On the other hand, their distribution methods, including the redistribution methods stipulated by the capitalist state, are passive in nature and are used only as a last resort to avoid disaster. Because of this, " $z$ " is too large, which plugs the output economic information channels of the production system.

In socialism, we, too, use the modern economic model. The only difference is that the controller of the parameter " $u$ " is not the state of a group of rich capitalists but the state of the people. Thus, this state is concerned above all about the interests of all of society. This state controls the parameter " $u$ " as follows: ensuring that the entire economic system reaches an optimum level with respect to macrocosmic information and then ensuring that the subsystems and production units can process the microcosmic information themselves in order to reach the maximum partial value. The socialist state can do that because it starts from the interests of all the people and correctly determines the role of the intellectuals. This state regards macrocosmic information in general (particularly accounting and statistical information concerning the present levels of investment of each commercial production unit) as a resource of all of society. The state protects each invention and discovery using the law on a broad scale. Thus, in the modern socialist economic model, we can build an "information field" in order to extract information from the market and receive information for the investment situation of the entire system. Based on that, we can build and regulate the macrocosmic economic program (with the parameter " $u$ ") of the entire system, which will enable us to coordinate investments between the commercial production units. And based on the macrocosmic economic program, these units can build and regulate their own microcosmic economic and marketing programs.

With the exception of a small number of commercial production units in which private individuals or collectives do not have the strength to run things and units that hold key positions in the macrocosmic financial and currency information channels, all of the other commercial production units must be privatized or collectivized. Only by doing this will we be able to overcome the situation in which the commercial production units can't process the microcosmic information that arises suddenly during the process of implementing their microcosmic economic and marketing programs and, through this, end the theft of state property, which is an evil manifestation of the principle of internal balance. Besides this, we can control " $u$ " in order to have a suitable " $z$ " (distribution gap), ensure that capital is concentrated on the excellent commercial producers, distribute consumer goods to people in a rational manner, and keep the financial and currency information channels starting from the consumer markets from becoming plugged. To do this, in the modern socialist economic model, we can use the principle of distribution based on a "cooperative labor" model in which the income of each person is  $t = v + aM + m$ . Here, " $v$ " is a constant, the labor strength and intelligence contributed by each person (determined by the market); " $a$ " is the contribution factor; " $M$ " is the profit of the entire commercial production unit, and " $m$ " is the correction and redistribution element of the state. This method of distribution ties the market value of the products produced to the labor strength and intelligence contributed by each person (the variable  $aM$ ). Thus, this requires that



laborers process the microcosmic information that arises suddenly during their microcosmic production process in a way that will benefit the entire commercial production unit.

Thus, the main distinction between the modern socialist economic model and the modern capitalist economic model does not have anything to do with looking at how those two models differ,  $T(x,y,z,u)$  (the achievements of science and technology and the intelligence of man from the past to the present), or with seeing which model has more state economic units. Rather, the difference has to do with seeing which state represents whom and how they are organizing and controlling the parameter "u" (the financial, currency, foreign currency, and income policies and laws). If the state represents the interests and intelligence of all the people, then that is a modern socialist economic model. If the state represents the interests and intelligence of a group of very wealthy capitalists, that is a modern capitalist economic model. Both use a modern economic model. But the socialist state gives attention to controlling "u" so that the function  $T$  reaches a maximum value so as benefit all of society. But the capitalist state looks for ways to control "u" so that  $T$  reaches a maximum value mainly for the benefit of the groups of big capitalists.

### A Market Mechanism Under State Control

923E0011E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 26-30

[Article by Tran Binh Trong and Mai Ngoc Cuong,  
National Congress of Economics]

[Text] In our country's renovation movement, the problem of a market mechanism is very important. The report by the Central Committee of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam], sixth term, on the proceedings of the seventh party congress pointed out that "we must continue to move toward a market mechanism controlled by the state through laws, plans, policies, and other tools. [Footnote 1] [TAP CHI CONG SAN No 7, Jul 91, pp 19, 20]

This is a new advance by our party in understanding the objective laws of economics and adhering to the necessary movement of the age to build a market mechanism in order to achieve total victory in the renovation movement.

In order to contribute to clarifying the above points, we would like to discuss a number of theoretical issues on markets, the market mechanism, and the role of the state in a modern economy.

#### I. The market mechanism and its advantages and limitations.

To talk about a market economy is to talk about a type of socioeconomic organization in which the entire process, from production to distribution, exchange, and consumption, is handled through the market.

According to modern views, every economy must answer three basic questions: What should be produced and in what quantities? How should production be carried on and with what resources and techniques? For whom should things be produced, or how should the products be distributed? In a market economy, these three questions are answered by the market.

As spheres of commodity exchange and marketing, markets are tied to the appearance and growth of commodity production.

As the economy expands, market concepts will expand, too. Today, commodity trading, bond trading, market associations, and even two people meeting in order to buy and sell foreign currency are all called markets.

In general, a market is a socioeconomic phenomenon. It is the activity of people in commodity production. Here, producers exchange their goods with other people in order to obtain the goods that they need. The commodities that are produced for exchange create supply and demand. Thus, it can be said that a market is the meeting place of supply and demand.

To talk about a market economy really means talking about the mobilization mechanism of the markets or the market mechanism. The market mechanism is the total body of structural factors: the operating environments, motive powers, and laws of operation of the markets. Thus, the market mechanism includes the following:

#### 1. The basic market structure factors and their basic relationships:

According to economists, the basic market structure factors are goods and money. These form the basic market relationships: the marketing relationship, the currency-commodity relationship, and the supply-demand and commodity price relationship. Without goods and without money, the above relationships can't exist, and there can't be markets or a market economy. Goods and money operate based on their own inherent internal laws. "Bogus" goods and "counterfeit" money will not correctly reflect the real market economy situation.

Integrating all of the basic factors and relationships of the market will form two types of markets that are independent of each other: a final consumer goods and service market and a market of production factors to produce consumer goods and services. But these two types of markets are closely related to each other through the activities of the businesses and consumers and through the marketing and supply-demand and price relationships.

#### 2. The operating environment of the market economy:

The market economy can operate only in a competitive environment. Based on independence and economic self-reliance, businesses participate in the market economy. The report of the Central Committee of the CPV, sixth term, on the proceedings of the seventh



Congress pointed out that "all businesses, regardless of the ownership relationships, are independent commercial entities that cooperate with and compete against each other, and they are all equal before the law." [Footnote 2] [TAP CHI CONG SAN No 7, Jul 91 p 19]

### 3. The motive force of the market economy:

Today, economists agree that the motive force behind the market economy is profits. This is the integrated norm reflecting the results of the commercial production operations of each business and the basis for strengthening and developing the economy. In a market economy, profits encourage businesses to produce the types of goods needed by consumers and stop producing types of goods that consumers do not need. Profits encourage businesses to use the most effective techniques. The market system uses losses to solve the basic economic problems.

### 4. The market economy operates in accord with its own laws:

Many economic laws are in operation on the markets. This includes the law of value, the law of supply and demand, and the law of currency circulation. These laws play an independent role, but they are closely related to each other and affect each other. The independent role of each law and their overall effect creates the operating principles of markets.

In Vietnam, the term "commodity economy" has been in use a long time, but the term "market economy" came into use just recently. What is the difference between a commodity economy and a market economy?

When human society first began producing things in order to satisfy its needs, the economy at that time was self-sufficient. That economy gradually turned into a commodity economy when the original communal system broke apart and the slave system appeared. Initially, this was simple commodity production carried on by the peasants and manual workers based on their own labor strength and means of production. Gradually, under the effect of the laws of commodity production, this simple commodity production was transformed into large-scale commodity production under capitalism. Along with this process, the commodity economy also turned into a market economy.

Thus, the switch to a market economy is a necessary process. Self-sufficient production will necessarily turn into commodity production, and a commodity economy will necessarily turn into a market economy. Basically, a commodity economy and a market economy have virtually the same nature. The difference between them is in the scope and level of development.

Can there be a separate market economy for each production formula? That is, can there be a market economy of capitalism and a market economy of socialism?

As analyzed above, a market economy is not a production formula but only a type of socioeconomic organization. It is a technique of economic organization, an invention by man, aimed at developing the economy with good results. The question is, How do the different social systems use that "technique" and which class interests is it supporting? Thus, we do not think that there should be "capitalist market economy" or "socialist market economy" concepts but only concepts of "a market economy under capitalism," "a market economy under socialism," and a market economy in Vietnam or some other country. In general, in talking about a market economy, you must also talk about the basic contents discussed above.

With such a mobilization mechanism, the market system has the following basic advantages:

First, a market economy stimulates the use of scientific advances, raises labor productivity, and raises the level of production socialization. The profit motive requires the businesses to reduce individual expenses in order to produce commodities. To do this, the businesses must regularly use new techniques and make production efficient. As a result, individual labor productivity and social labor productivity will increase. This advantage has enabled the market economy under capitalism, which arose about five centuries ago, to create the most highly socialized production force even seen in the history of man.

Second, the market economy has a dynamic nature and the ability to adapt quickly. One principle is that whoever brings commodity products to market first will earn the most profits. On the other hand, if producers realize that people aren't buying their products, they will stop producing those products. This results in saving social labor costs. Thus, in a market economy, new products are constantly being created. Many of the products that used to be sold on the markets are now no longer being sold, because there is no longer any demand for them. On the markets, many products having better quality and specifications are appearing.

Third, in a market economy, there are always commodities and services. This is a "surplus" economy and not a "deficit" economy. Because of this, the market economy can satisfy the material, cultural, and all-round development needs of each element and of all of society better and better.

However, a market economy also has a reverse side. It has a negative side, and it is impossible to avoid market defeats. Many problems arise along with the development of a market economy, such as crises, inflation, and unemployment. And the market mechanism cannot solve these problems by itself. Many of the negative aspects stemming from the market economy have created various disadvantages for its development.

## II. The role of the state in a market economy.

Faced with the above consequences of a market economy, many different solutions have been proposed:

First, in order to prevent these negative consequences, the things giving rise to these things must be eliminated. To do this, the commodity economy and market economy must be eliminated. Production, distribution, and consumption exchange must be organized in a highly centralized manner from a center.

Second, accepting a commodity economy and market economy also means accepting the limitations and negative aspects of these. But at the same time, people must actively search for ways to regulate things in order to overcome the limitations and negative aspects and exploit the strengths of the market economy. With this orientation, economists have elevated the economic role of the state.

To different degrees, bourgeois economists recognize the need for state intervention in the market economy. The theories on state intervention in the market economy form the basis for the economic strategies of the bourgeois states. Thus, even though there are still certain limitations and negative aspects, the market economy under capitalism is still suited to the growth of the production forces, and the conflicts within capitalism have been "temporarily eased." This explains why capitalism in recent decades has continued to expand.

Today, most economists agree on the targets and ways to strengthen the economic role of the state in order to set guidelines for the market mechanism. Economists have formulated theories on an "empty" polygon in order to point out the operating targets of the state in the economic sphere. They have proposed four or five targets depending on the level of development of each country. But problems such as creating jobs, maintaining the stability of the currency and prices, opposing inflation, maintaining the rate of growth and development, achieving a foreign trade balance, preserving the environment, and so on are always the key targets in the economic activities of the state.

In order to hit these targets, the state must have the following system of control measures:

1. It must build a system of laws to ensure equality for the businesses that are participating in the market mechanism.
2. It must build an infrastructure to support production and life, such as roads, canals, a water conservancy system, a hydroelectric system, an information and liaison system, and an educational system.
3. It must formulate macrocosmic economic policies. This includes formulating socioeconomic programs and plans; currency, credit, interest rate, and inflation policies; financial, tax, insurance, and subsidy policies; policies on state norms and government debt; and policies on depreciation funds.

4. It must allocate the resources rationally, create factors to stimulate the economy, and maintain the competitive conditions of the businesses.

5. As the master of the businesses that belong to all the people, through the operations of these businesses, the state must influence socioeconomic activities in order to regulate the economy in general.

6. As the organization that controls the distribution of income among the various social strata and that develops the social welfare spheres, the state must maintain the conditions for the stability of the situation in general and create favorable conditions for economic development throughout society.

7. The state must formulate a foreign economic policy, a commercial policy, a policy on international exchange and exchange rates, an investment policy, and so on in order to integrate our economy with the world economy and strive for outside sources of strength in order to develop the country's economy.

The themes analyzed above reflect the "mixed mechanism" of the economy. In this, steps must be taken to determine the independent role of the businesses that are operating in accord with the market mechanism and the management role of the state through the laws, plans, policies, state enterprises, and other economic tools. In each country, the size of the elements can differ, but all countries have one thing in common: In order to achieve a stable rate of growth, create jobs, reduce unemployment, limit inflation, stabilize the currency and prices, balance imports and exports, and so on, the state must make flexible use of this "mixed economic mechanism."

III. The basic socioeconomic contents and preconditions of "switching to a market mechanism with the control of the state" in our country.

Transforming a self-sufficient economy with a bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism to a multifaceted commodity economy that operates based on a market mechanism with the control of the state requires that the sphere of influence of the market mechanism and the state in the new economic mechanism be clearly determined.

In our country's conditions, the market mechanism directly guides the businesses in selecting operating spheres, types of goods, amounts, techniques, and forms of commercial organization in order to achieve the best results possible in a cooperative and competitive environment. The management role of the state is very important in balancing things at the macrocosmic level, regulating the markets, blocking and handling sudden negative changes, the environment and conditions necessary for business, and ensuring unity between economic growth and social fairness and progress. The state must also manage and control the use of the national assets in order to preserve and develop those assets. The state must manage things at the macrocosmic level, particularly in the case of enterprises that are owned by

all the people, and through this, it must influence and regulate the market mechanism.

Switching to a state-controlled market mechanism requires having certain socioeconomic preconditions:

First, there must be political security. The renovation experiences in a number of socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the (former) Soviet Union show that without political stability, the socioeconomic crisis will grow worse and the renovation process will encounter even more difficulties. In Vietnam, advancing toward socialism is the basis for political stability and the starting point for each renovation process. Here, the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam is the decisive factor for the success of the renovation movement.

However, maintaining political stability does not mean not renovating the political system in accord with the requirements of economic renovation. Ideas on maintaining political stability must include renovating organization and operating methods in the party and state apparatus.

Second, there must be a legal system for the market economy. The experiences of the market economies show that there are two parallel systems in the economy, the market system and the legal system. The market system, with its mobilization factors and environment and laws of operation (in this, currency is like oil in a machine or blood in a body), is the most modern "technique" for developing the economy. As for the legal system, although it is not a factor of the market mechanism, it is like the "communications map" of a city, showing businessmen the legal path to take to earn the greatest profits in the shortest time.

Third, there must be a variety of ownership forms. This is an essential requirement for the development of a

multifaceted commodity economy. The scope of operations of the state enterprises must be determined correctly and rationally in order to achieve good socioeconomic results. With its guiding role, state ownership should be concentrated in the key sectors that have a decisive effect on the national welfare and people's livelihood, in the spearhead sectors of high economic value, in the sectors that can ensure the development of the infrastructure, and in the state banking systems that regulate currency circulation. As for the sectors that produce production materials and consumer materials, the forms of ownership should be varied, and both collective and private enterprises should be expanded. In these sectors, the state enterprises that have constantly operated at a loss should be collectivized or privatized.

Fourth, there must be a system of policies authorizing economic control at the macrocosmic and microcosmic levels, such as tax policies, state norms, policies on government debt, insurance and subsidy policies, policies on credit, currency, and inflation, and depreciation policies.

Fifth, there must be programs and plans to orient socioeconomic development.

Sixth, there must be an infrastructure to support production and life and satisfy the requirements in developing the market economy, above all communications and transportation, post and telecommunications, liaison, hydroelectricity, storehouses, docks, and so on.

Seventh, there must be a correct foreign economic policy to integrate [our economy with] the international economy and strive for outside strengths.

Eighth, there must be ranks of economic and state management cadres who are suited to the new economic mechanism.

#### **Culture—Counter Values and a Rise in Temperature**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 4, Apr 92 pp 31-34

[Article by Do Huy; not translated]

**The Share System and Selling Shares in a Number of State Enterprises**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 35-39

[Article by Vu Xuan Kieu; not translated]

**The An Giang Incident**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 40-42

[Article by Tran Duc; not translated]

**Coordinate the Traditional and the Modern in Building and Managing the Regime**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 43-45

[Article by Van Tao; not translated]

**A Humane and Just Life, a Very Wonderful Tradition That Must Be Preserved and Exploited**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 46-48, 53

[Article by Ban Dinh Giang; not translated]

**Studying and Manifesting the History of the Party in All Respects**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 49-51

[Article by Ngo Dang Tri; not translated]

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## Ideological Life

19

### Justice

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 4, Apr 92 pp 52-53

[Article by Nguyen Tien; not translated]

**Studying the Strictness of Lenin**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 4, Apr 92 pp 54-55

[Article by Thanh Thanh; not translated]

**Exploit the Contributions of Overseas Vietnamese Intellectuals**

923E0011F Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 92 pp 55-56

[Article by Bui Cong Hung, Hanoi]

[Text] The Program and Strategy passed at the seventh party congress have determined that the direction that Vietnam will take is to rely on the development of science and technology. In this, the role and results of international cooperation are particularly important. Along with mobilizing the brain bower of the ranks of intellectuals in the country, we must exploit the strengths of the more than 300,000 overseas Vietnamese intellectuals and encourage them "to support and contribute to building the country," [Footnote 1] [Proceedings of the Seventh National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, page 70] particularly in opening the door and cooperating with other countries.

Among the overseas Vietnamese intellectuals are internationally-recognized scientists such as minicomputer inventor Andre Truong Tong Thi, Dr. Nguyen Trong Hoang, mathematician Le Dung Trang, and so on. Since 1975, more than 1,000 overseas Vietnamese intellectuals have returned to cooperate with people here in a variety of ways, mainly by serving as intermediaries in the transfer of modern science and technology in conjunction with the import and export of technical equipment and supplying information and data to the country. Several examples can be mentioned: Overseas vietnamese have joined with Ho Chi Minh City in studying plans for a mini oil refinery, helped import modern crude oil refining equipment, helped Saigon Petro operate effectively, helped Ben Tre make combustible charcoal and advance to making activated charcoal using coconut shells for export, cooperated with the Post and Telecommunications General Department in designing and producing electronic switchboards and studying optical cables, cooperated in the sphere of information theory, produced Cinotex, and so on. Dr. Nguyen Khac Nhan has served as an adviser to the Ministry of Energy and the Ministry of Education. Engineer Tran Quang Tuan manufactured simple artificial kidney dialyzers and donated them to hospitals in the country. The Vietnam Institutes of Science appointed Do Tan Si (Belgium) as its representative in Belgium and Western Europe. Le Hiep Tuyen (Germany) has been appointed director of the Telecommunications Equipment Research and Production Center. Based on the program to exchange intellectuals through immigration through the aid of the United Nations Development Program (TOKTEN), today 97 overseas Vietnamese intellectuals have registered and 15 people have come here to work. A

number of overseas Vietnamese are cooperating with people here through government agreements and international organizations. Vu Quang Viet was appointed chief adviser on Project VE88032, and Nguyen Xuan Vu is chief adviser on another project with the Statistics General Department.

Overseas Vietnamese intellectuals have lived and grown up in many countries. They are familiar with outside tastes and markets and can serve as investment intermediaries for domestic cultural, scientific, and economic projects. At the same time, this will enable Vietnamese culture to accept the essence of international culture and science, and conversely, transmit the essence of Vietnamese culture to other countries. However, among the intellectuals who have returned to Vietnam, along with the great majority who are truly talented and loyal to their native country, there are also a few who are very arrogant about their abilities and who are interested only in making a profit. Some have even taken advantage of the trust of a number of localities.

Today, only 0.3 percent of the total number of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals have returned here to contribute to building the country. On one hand, the U.S. embargo against Vietnam has caused overseas Vietnamese to worry about their individual safety if they cooperate with people here. The reactionaries among the Vietnamese exiles have distorted the situation, exerted pressure, and blocked intellectuals from returning to Vietnam to cooperate here. On the other hand, we have not implemented concrete policies to mobilize and encourage overseas Vietnamese intellectuals to contribute more to building the country. In Vietnam, there are places that don't really trust these forces and that are very narrowminded. But there are also places that have put too much emphasis on this and that have not separated "gold from brass" or "the real from the false."

From the reality discussed above, in order to exploit the contributions made by overseas Vietnamese intellectuals in building the country, I would like to suggest the following to the party and state:

The policies on dealing with intellectuals here and abroad must be balanced, because both groups of intellectuals have strengths and weaknesses. They must work together and strengthen each other. Just because we do not have the ability to look after the lives and work conditions of the intellectuals in Vietnam, we should not forget that outside Vietnam, there are intellectuals who are very smart but who are also very poor. When necessary, they should be given an airline ticket and provided with housing so that they can participate in the important projects. We must make use of the TOKTEN project in order to bring more overseas Vietnamese intellectuals here to work.

We must have concrete policies on entering and leaving the country and travel and create favorable conditions for overseas Vietnamese intellectuals working here to

contact the necessary scientific bases. More attention must be given to mobilizing the relatives of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals.

Attention must be given to providing compensation appropriate to the skills of the scientific specialists and listening to their ideas on economic and scientific problems. The overseas Vietnamese intellectuals must be given a number of specific responsibilities so that they can carry on activities with domestic scientific organizations. Based on that, we will be able to train intellectuals and exchange experiences.

We must promptly provide information on the domestic situation and on our positions and policies so that overseas Vietnamese in general and intellectuals in particular correctly understand Vietnam's real situation in the renovation process and move closer to the state and fatherland. This will also limit the ideological destruction caused by the reactionaries.

We cannot separate the overseas Vietnamese intellectuals from specific organizations in their local countries. Because of this, our embassies must study and monitor the ranks of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals in each country and help the Overseas Vietnamese Department of the Central Committee understand these ranks in a deeper and more systematic way. By the year 2000, we must strive to have 5 percent of the overseas Vietnamese intellectuals participating directly in building the country and to have 20 percent of these intellectuals visit their native country. We must give attention to the second and third generations of overseas Vietnamese. A number of these do not speak the Vietnamese language fluently, and a number are gradually forgetting the traditions and cultural practices of their native country. Thus, we must create favorable conditions for these generations of Vietnamese to study the Vietnamese language and visit their native country. We must also give attention to and have a broad view of the overseas Vietnamese intellectuals in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, who were trained in socialist schools.

**What Is the New Political Thinking**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 4, Apr 92 pp 57-59

[Article by Le Tinh; not translated]

**The World After the Collapse of the Soviet Union**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 4, Apr 92 pp 60-62

[Article by Vu Hien; not translated]



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From Foreign Publications

23

**Power Shift**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 4, Apr 92 pp 63-64

[Article by Alvin Toffler; not translated]

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